

# THE Individual

•MAGAZINE OF THE SOCIETY FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM•

## EDITORIAL

The anti-capitalist demonstrations in various parts of the developed world are almost certainly misnamed. They are really rallies against corporatism - the combined rule of government and big business in mutually supporting systems of laws and agreements.

Unfortunately the highly selective criticisms are invariably directed against free trade and profits, rather than the activities of governments. It should surely be obvious that the really catastrophic events for the third world peasants and 'the poor' in general - the wars, the chronic misuse of 'aid', and the endemic corruption by bureaucrats and politicians, are due to governments, not free trade or profit.

A possibly significant development in parallel with this anti-capitalism is the emergence of fundamentalist religious cults. These are invariably not only anti-capitalist but anti liberal society in general. Perhaps we must face the fact that the rationalist scientific attitude, of which capitalism is the economic expression, is positively repugnant to the vast majority of people. They like the results of applying it, of course, but its basic principles are, generally speaking, not widely attractive. Faced with a complicated and often confusing world they crave the 'certainty' of authority and rules rather than ever multiplying 'choices'. With wider choices goes a cacophony of advertising and 'advice' mostly just adding to the confusion.

As libertarians we should perhaps pay serious attention to these common psychological difficulties posed by capitalism in particular and, in fact, the notion of freedom itself in the form of self-reliance rather than rules-reliance. The appeal to irrational fears of the possible consequences of unregulated choice is one of the main weapons at present used by bureaucracy and government to increase their own powers and curtail individual freedom.

**Paul Anderton**

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## NEXT MEETING

Tuesday 18th July

6.30 for 7pm

The Clarence, London SW1

Peter Hitchens  
Author and Express columnist

*Cigarettes and Condoms*

*To Promote Individual Freedom with Responsibility*

# On Drugs, and the News of the World

PAUL ANDERTON

An article on page 27 of the October 17<sup>th</sup> 1999 edition of the *News of the World* (NoW) under the headline 'This cardigan-wearing Tory looks like a harmless grandad..but he deals in heroin' alleged that I arranged to supply heroin to a NoW 'investigative reporter' one Mazher Mahmood, and was therefore a 'drug dealer'. I particularly resented the image implied by the 'cardigan wearing grandad' description, but assumed that nobody whose opinion was worth bothering about was likely to read the NoW anyway so it probably wouldn't be noticed by those people, and after a few weeks forgotten by everybody else as well.

Mahmood had warned me in a telephone call the previous day (Sat 16<sup>th</sup>) that a story about my drug dealing was appearing in the NoW so I took some pre-emptive action in the form of asking Radio Sheffield to give me a chance to 'put my side of the story'. This they did, broadcasting an interview, and the story received brief coverage from BBC and Yorks TV. I must say that, considering the time limitations, the local coverage from the broadcasting organisations was reasonable. Also the local newspaper *The Star* published a front page article about the local Tory ex-chairman who had 'tried drugs' and the *Yorkshire Post* published a reasonably balanced article based on a longish interview.

My chief point in these follow-up reports was that I was not a dealer but had a certain academic interest in the so-called 'drugs problem' and therefore in the people involved in it. *Radio Hallam* (the local Commercial station) devoted a whole two hour phone-in to my situation in which I had about 20mins of 'phone interview.

**After I retired (very early) I realized that I had no further use for 'respectability' so I could do a bit of investigation and direct observation myself.**

I also informed my colleagues in the SIF and the LA about the article. I am very gratified that all members of both organisations gave me instant support without question, which confirms my view that nobody whose opinion was worth having would be bothered about NoW articles. This was in contrast to the local Conservative Association who had a special executive meeting in view of the *Star* article. They were, of course, polite, but made no objection to my immediate resignation which they thought appropriate because my views on drugs were not in line with Party policy.

Though the immediate media coverage, apart from NoW itself, was reasonably

balanced it was by no means the whole picture, which goes back quite a long way. As a long standing libertarian I had always been perturbed by attitudes to, and laws on, the use of drugs. Readers will be familiar with the arguments on this topic, but in spite of those there was the ingrained attitude that drugs were a threat to society and somehow outside the normal freedom of choice and acceptable risk criteria for individuals. This had the classic properties of either an argument with false premises or a prejudice so firmly established that it was impervious to reason. Even twenty or so years ago there was a considerable literature on the topic. This fell into two main categories - the academic factual histories, and 'popular' expositions, usually by journalists, recommending increased suppression because of the dangers and evil nature of drugs and, if anything, even more so the 'drug dealers'.

**There is a long history of scientific researchers exposing themselves to the risk of serious injury or death never mind about the mythical 'instant addiction'**

After I retired (very early) I realized that I had no further use for 'respectability' so I could do a bit of investigation and direct observation myself. I actually visited Amsterdam but soon realised that the time span of a holiday was quite insufficient for any sort of meaningful enquiry. When I got back the solution became obvious - use the local and easily accessed environment. If 'drug problems' were as widespread as they were portrayed to be then there must be a lot very close. The street girls or prostitutes were an obvious starting point as they were so easily approachable and popularly assumed to be drug soaked. I did not intend to be a punter, of course, a wise decision as it turned out because punters are not 'respected' being regarded rather as certain politicians regard voters - a somewhat irritating necessity for providing

money. The most effective bribe for contact and information was car transport. If they were unlucky in not getting a punter to take them home after working they were grateful for a 'lift' without strings and from there it was relatively easy to develop other ways of observing their general way of life and that of their friends.

Without going into all the details of individual cases some conclusions are quite clear. The first is that the drug business is definitely demand led. The notion that dealers, or pushers, trick or deceive users into 'addiction' is absurd. The usual introduction to drug use is through friends and in fact lone drug consumption is rare. I was often offered a chance to try some, particularly crack and smokable heroin as well as the ubiquitous cannabis, as some reimbursement for 'taxi service'. Sometimes I accepted and sometimes I did not. Anyway, what sort of scientist or enquirer is it who does not acquaint himself as thoroughly as possible with his subject - only a wimp or one employed to find evidence for a preconceived conclusion probably. There is a long history of scientific researchers exposing themselves to the risk of serious injury or death never mind about the mythical 'instant addiction'. In fact the effect of either crack or heroin on me was minimal. As I could generally hold my breath with lungs full of heroin or crack smoke a good 30secs. longer than most of the regular users (because I am fitter) the effect on me was presumably greater than on them. Any suggestion of 'instant addiction' is completely unrealistic.

Certainly some users could be described as addicts in the sense that at intervals getting supplies became quite urgent and obviously a first call on money before food or rent. But there was nothing that I found seriously disturbing in their behaviour after taking drugs - nothing like as disturbing as drunken brawls for instance.

**Several have reported to me that they were pestered by a NoW reporter for information about me and that he was not at all interested in anything favourable - only 'dirt'.**

Quite where the NoW's interest came from is puzzling. They claim to have a letter stating that I am a drug dealer, but refuse to give details of it. Of my drug using acquaintances there was only one with the education and intelligence to write such a letter, Carla Fenlon. She denied writing it and has herself written to the NoW asking them for an assurance that it was not her (in

# This cardigan-wearing Tory looks like a harmless grandad ..but he deals in heroin



**EXCLUSIVE**  
BY MAZHAR MAHMUD  
INVESTIGATIVE EDITOR  
PENSIONER Paul Anderton is

**TWO MORE BROUGHT TO**

## A great deal for pain relief ... made easy

much of the company she keeps a reputation for 'grassing' is a big disadvantage). Several have reported to me that they were pestered by a NoW reporter for information about me and that he was not at all interested in anything favourable - only 'dirt'. One woman in particular had several visits and was offered money as a bribe to say I had supplied her with heroin and could get some for the reporter's 'brother'. He kept trying until her husband eventually told him that if he came to see her again he might well be leaving in an Ambulance rather than his Mercedes! It is still possible that some such acquaintance gave information, but all the suspects I can think of are extremely improbable instigators.

This leaves two other possibilities for supplying information (which must be either surmised or completely invented). One very minuscule possibility is that it was a member of the local Conservative Association who so disliked my libertarian views that they wanted to discredit me in a big way. I can't think of anybody to whom this might apply and in any case, because drugs were rarely mentioned and never actually discussed - only assumed to be a serious 'evil' without argument - then in fact none of the members knew of my long standing association with drug users.

The other possibility is much more interesting. Last year I attended the Conservative Party Conference for the fifteenth time but as a reporter not a delegate. When I was there I tried to arouse interest in the 'Henderson case'. The first visit from a NoW reporter was just before I returned from the conference when he spoke at some length to my wife (who had stayed at home). It is therefore just possible that the article was an officially inspired device to discredit me and, by association, anybody else who supported Robert Henderson's efforts to get his case publicly

discussed. The main evidence against this is that the other two editors who have published articles supporting him, Sean Gabb of *Free Life* and Derek Turner of *Right NOW!* have not been similarly harassed. However, so far as I know, both these gentlemen are completely pure in both their public and private lives (except possibly that they might have one or two acquaintances who smoke) so perhaps it is just not possible to discredit them at all easily.

However the fact that someone can be discredited merely by being accused of being a drug dealer is itself both interesting and disturbing. It is presumably based on the syllogism that drugs lead to 'addiction' and that addiction is inevitably destructive of personality and willpower. If this is so, and just about everybody knows it because of the incessant official propaganda, then it is just inconceivable that anybody - particularly large numbers - could actually choose to risk it so they must therefore somehow be deceived into it. Those who do the deceiving must do it from selfish and disreputable motives, such as making money so it must be the dealers. But they can't possibly just be dealers they must be 'pushers' who have some mysterious power, never explained, somehow to inveigle presumably otherwise sensible people into a life of 'degradation and destruction'. With that level of persuasive powers they could make an immense fortune as legitimate salesmen or political spin doctors.

**The fact that someone can be discredited merely by being accused of being a drug dealer is itself both interesting and disturbing.**

The truth of course, as one can work out by abstract reasoning, but which direct

observation makes blindingly obvious, is that the whole establishment attitude is essentially a political scam. That is to say it is in the tradition of devices used by both church and state to exert power over individuals and maintain control. One of the most potent psychological devices is control over that most fundamental of possessions - one's own body. The church tried it on with dietary rules and particularly sexual behaviour (especially behaviour which could not lead to reproduction and therefore a responsibility for 'society'): Whilst the church was influential and economically significant the politicians backed the church's rules with laws, but found other excuses as church influence declined. As few people pay much attention to the dietary and sexual prescriptions some substitute has to be found, and 'dangerous drug' control is the current chosen spearhead, with smoking and child pornography close behind. In so far as any justification is attempted it used to be through 'grace' and 'the will of god' but this has now changed to 'health' - physical, mental, 'spiritual' (and is there anything that cannot be made into some sort of health issue?).

The drugs issue bears the hallmarks of a pure social control device as shown by the refusal of serious discussion on the grounds of somehow encouraging 'sin', demonization of individual practitioners, intrusion in otherwise private areas, and selective use of 'evidence' in presenting rare individual bad experiences as typical.

The case of Leah Betts is well known - one death among an estimated 250,000 regular users of 'ecstasy' - which received nearblanket coverage. So if individual cases are so significant I will describe two out of many possible (with names changed to set an example in protecting privacy).

**The drugs issue bears the hallmarks of a pure social control device as shown by the refusal of serious discussion on the grounds of somehow encouraging 'sin',**

Toni had been 'in care' most of her life up to age 18 (when I first met her). She often ran away from care homes and went back to her mother who taught her the arts of shoplifting, 'walk in' burglary, and prostitution - skills which she developed in spite of numerous fines, probation orders, and eventually prison. She was in care because her mother was in prison when she was born as the first of seven children by three different fathers. Her mother and fathers were often drunk and Toni has a

aversion to alcohol but had a long standing drugs habit - cannabis, heroin (smoke only), and crack. This clearly varied with her level of financial and emotional security. Her only educational achievement is to be quite good at reading and writing due to individual attention she received from one teacher to whom she is still grateful. Otherwise she admits to being disruptive and inattentive during her very brief and irregular school attendance.

**The usual reaction to such individuals is of course to go into the 'blaming mode' and demand that they be permanently locked up or compulsorily treated and reformed.**

During the nine years I have known her she has begun to emulate her mother by now having three children by different fathers. During the relatively calm period when she was with the father of her first child she used little, if any, 'hard' drugs - just cannabis and tobacco. When the first partner left for a while because of family problems, she got another man and child and soon lost both children to the social services after which she resumed her old habits including heroin and crack. Later she met a 'normal' man with a trade and job, had yet another child, married the last father and they are now both engaged in an epic struggle with the social services to restore custody of the children.

Rosanne is illiterate and says she has AIDS but her AIDS lesions look more like old deep injection sores. She did not go to school after she was 12 and has also been a prostitute since then. Her mother is an alcoholic. Her youngest brother of 14 is quite a nice boy who goes to school, accepts his mother's drinking as something of a joke, and helps Rosanne sometimes by reading her letters and taking messages. Rosanne has had four children whose whereabouts she does not know as they were taken into care several years ago, because of her drug use and prostitution. They are presumably adopted and she accepts that she will never be allowed to look after any of them, but clings to the conviction that 'some day they will come and find me'. She has no regular boyfriend and claims to sleep with women as well as men. Her body is in quite good shape but extensively marked with eight tattoos, a long knife wound scar, a reconstruction of her left femoral artery because of damage from injecting into it and a deep wound on the back of her right thigh which affects her walking. She is on a 200ml per day Methadone maintenance dose (an

enormous dose which would kill anybody not used to it) which she has to collect and consume in one particular pharmacy every day.

So far as ordinary social relationships are concerned they are completely without normal manners or discretion and are definitely not to be trusted either to keep promises that turn out to be inconvenient or 'respect' property. Short-term atavistic self-interest is the only discernable aim of their behaviour. Both are outstanding examples of the complete failure of education, social services, and drug controls.

The usual reaction to such individuals is of course to go into the 'blaming mode' and demand that they be permanently locked up or compulsorily treated and reformed. However that reaction has been current for as long as history and it can hardly be much use or the proportion of individuals indulging in unacceptable behaviour should have been near zero by now whereas government agencies and media insist that the problems are constantly increasing. The theory boils down to; find a problem - decide who is to 'blame' for it - punish those to blame - problem solved. The trouble is that the problems never are solved and in fact new ones are 'discovered' periodically, for example drug abuse and pornography. The basic misconception is, of course, that so-called civilised behaviour is 'natural'. This will apply to the people who formulate the blame theories - including the readers of this account and certainly the author. That is because we have been reared in families, and other circumstances, where such behaviour was the norm - with rewards for conformity and sanctions of various kinds for non-conformity.

But the criminal and underprivileged are in fact behaving much nearer the normal

human being in the sense of what comes naturally without privileged training and in fact what a good many of 'us' would return to in the absence of the standard rewards for respectability. This is seen when law and order disintegrates or a corrupt government, such as the Fascists or Communists give rewards for degenerate behaviour such as 'informing' and looting the property of demonized minorities (have you heard of the instant confiscation policy for the property of drug dealers, originally, and now for a growing list of 'dissidents'?). Our primitive ancestors simply grabbed what they could and discarded it when no longer needed, including pillaging from other groups, without any sophisticated ideas of property or other 'rights' - and such behaviour can be observed any time in 'modern' inner cities and decaying estates; no need to go to darkest Africa or the upper reaches of the Amazon basin.

**The persistence of such behaviour points directly to the failure of seven generations of compulsory 'education', phalanxes of social workers, police and prison 'services', and economic progress.**

In fact the persistence of such behaviour points directly to the failure of seven generations of compulsory 'education', phalanxes of social workers, police and prison 'services', and economic progress. I suppose it is only to be expected that government agencies will search for 'causes' other than their own incompetence so they can continue to get 'more resources' (the inevitable demand for 'doing better tomorrow').

But it is very sad and disappointing when the so-called 'free press' gives completely uncritical support to such absurd and destructive illusions.

## Sir Richard Body's EDM about Robert Henderson

Early Day Motion 459, 10th November 1999

CONDUCT OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MEMBER FOR SEDGEFIELD

That this House regrets that the Right Honourable Member for Sedgefield attempted to persuade the Metropolitan Police to bring criminal charges against Robert Henderson, concerning the Right Honourable Member's complaints to the police of an offence against the person, malicious letters and racial insult arising from letters Robert Henderson had written to the Right Honourable Member complaining about various instances of publicly-reported racism involving the Labour Party; and that, after the Crown Prosecution Service rejected the complaints of the Right Honourable Member and the Right Honourable Member failed to take any civil action against Robert Henderson, Special Branch were employed to spy upon Robert Henderson.

Proposed by Sir Richard Body MP

# The SIF and the Battle for Britain

TERESA GORMAN MP'S TALK INTRODUCED BY MICHAEL PLUMBE

The Society held one of its regular annual luncheons in the Dining Room of the House of Commons on Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup> April 2000. Michael Plumbe, the Management Committee chairman, opened the proceedings following the excellent lunch. He began by warmly thanking Lucy Ryder and Cynthia Campbell-Savours for organising the event. 'We are here for two main purposes', he continued, 'first in the millennium year to say a heartfelt "thank you" to Sir Richard Body who had been our host today and devoted himself to various libertarian causes and a great supporter of this society. We are also here to listen to our guest today, Teresa Gorman. She has been treated abominably by the Parliamentary Commissioner Elizabeth Filkin. A situation she has endured with fortitude!.'

Teresa Gorman, looking young and vibrant with blond curly hair and dressed in a bright yellow suit, then addressed the meeting.

A wonderful introduction for me Chairman - forthright, forceful, fortitude all those lovely words - it is the best press I have had in a month! Whatever my sins were they don't compare with what the Labour Party are getting away with. The way in which the ethics committee is being manipulated is doing grave damage to the reputation of Parliament. We must expect to set high standards but the present feeding frenzy will do long-term harm to the respect, such as it is, for Parliament.

**Minding your own business is a virtue which most politicians seem incapable of embracing.**

The Society for Individual Freedom has played an important and noble role, not just through Lord Monson's leadership but also before him that of Sir Ian McTaggart. Long before I dreamed of becoming an MP I remember going to Grosvenor House, to SIF meetings in that small back room. Sir Ian must be turning in his grave at the sight of his daughter Fiona McTaggart sitting on the Labour benches. This Society has been blessed with leaders of libertarian views which, alas, are in the minority in this country.

There is always someone wanting to regulate and poke their noses into somebody else's business. One of my favourite authors is Frederick Bastiat - the 19th Century French philosopher - who came up with the wonderful aphorism, 'mind your own business is the only moral law'.

Minding your own business is a virtue which most politicians seem incapable of embracing. Another of his sayings is 'the state is that great fiction where everyone seeks to live at the expense of somebody

else.' I have it on the bottom of my writing paper. I put it on the day I got into this House and everyone thought I was mad. It was the first time anyone had put a slogan on their writing paper let alone that one. But, alas, we do not liberate people or guard our freedoms but give factions of one sort or another the opportunity to legislate their prejudices into law and inflict them on the rest of us.

Sir Richard Body is a notable exception. Throughout his Parliamentary career of 40 years he has been one of the great champions of freedom. I got to know him when we were fighting the Maastricht treaty and battling to stop it becoming law. He gave one of the most marvellous tour de forces speeches when we kept the debate going all night and three quarters of the day. He made it a cause celebre, a crusade, which helped to turn opinion in our country on whether we could do anything about the European Union, the most undemocratic organisation since the USSR and Communist China to emerge this century. It could yet be the end of our democracy if we don't keep up the battle.



I know that in his early days Richard actually flirted with Europe! I am told he fell in with Mr Edward Heath and invited him to his home where he actually has a Heath Chair. I hope no libertarians have sat in that chair. Richard admits he allowed himself to be seduced after attending one of the early meetings of the Union. But the scales fell from his eyes when he was made privy to the conspiracy which was being hatched for political union and thankfully had a marvellous conversion on the road to Damascus - or rather on the ferry back to Dover in 1967. And from then on he has campaigned tirelessly to make the British public aware of what the European Union intends for our country and our democracy.

**Throughout his Parliamentary career of 40 years Sir Richard Body has been one of the great champions of freedom.**

That is not his only virtue. I understand he and Joanna Lumley of Absolutely Fabulous have a connection - campaigning for compassion in world farming because he said that although we have to love and cherish our own freedom there is no reason why we should not extend the decency of a reasonable life to the animals we use as part of our diet. That is one of his great virtues too. Despite the fact that he keeps pigs he has never ever tethered a pig. What an epitaph to have on your tombstone - he never tethered a pig!

So here he is - a great man - on the point of retiring from Parliament, but not from the Society and I hope this is not going to be his last luncheon with us. So many people have come from all over the country to be here with him today.

Since I arrived in this House Richard has been a great inspiration to me. There is hardly a campaign I have thought of that he has not thought of before, including my campaign for an English Parliament.\* We both campaign, not only through SIF but through others such as UKIP and CAFE - Conservatives Against a Federal Europe. I know as a Conservative I am not supposed to mention UKIP or Jimmy Goldsmith's Referendum Party but by their mere existence they have influenced William Hague to take a tough line on Europe and our sovereignty. But we need to keep up our pressure.

I am not a pessimist over Europe, I'm not one of those people who think things have gone so far that they can't be altered. But if we are to persuade the British public that we are not yet completely committed, then we have to have an alternative vision,

another flag around which we can rally. To be against something and to want to come out of something is not an easy policy to sell to the voters. I believe that vision lies in developing links with the North American Free Trade Agreement - NAFTA. If we join NAFTA we will have to limit our political connections with the EU. Other countries, the Norwegians and the Swiss, are not in the EU but have access to EU markets. The EU is a cartel, not a free trade area at all. If we developed our relationship with NAFTA it would open up new opportunities. Sixty per cent of our exports are already dollar linked.

**I have come to the conclusion with Groucho Marx, that the EU is a club which even if they would have me as a member I wouldn't want to join.**

I see a break in the clouds; the Conservatives are beginning to cultivate a relationship with NAFTA. The Americans are very willing to negotiate, not just with us but with other countries. We would have no need to change our currency, change our system of measurements, alter our legal structures or affect the domestic laws of this country. Simply free trade. And I am sure that you all, as libertarians, believe in free trade. Freedom to trade is one of the essential parts of any free society.

I have come to the conclusion with Groucho Marx, that the EU is a club which even if they would have me as a member I wouldn't want to join. People are exposing daily a good many of the fiddles which are going on in Brussels. But of course people do not - as we do - take a lot of notice of these affairs. So long as they feel comfortably off and things seem to be getting better for them they tend to let the government of the day get on with it - including pumping our money into Europe. But the more people realise the degree to which they are being overtaxed by stealth the more they will become disillusioned with the Labour Party. The cracks are developing in the smooth surface Tony Blair has succeeded in presenting in the last three years.

**There will be another opportunity for the Conservatives to reassert a more liberal society. This organisation - and others - are all chipping away in one area or another.**

Conservatives must continue to believe that there is life after our last election

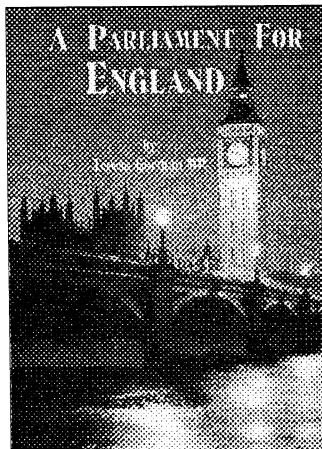
defeat. There will be another opportunity for the Conservatives to reassert a more liberal society. This organisation - and others - are all chipping away in one area or another. Whether it is members of the Salisbury Group, *This England* magazine, Christopher Booker in the *Sunday Telegraph*, Derek Turner of *Right NOW!*, and of course Paul Anderton who edits your magazine.

We must all help to strengthen the Conservative party because it is our only hope of reform. William Hague's slogan of 'in Europe but not run by Europe' is at least a start. In him we have the best chance since Margaret Thatcher of bringing back the values we believe in. We must back him and look forward to the day when we have a truly libertarian society where everybody is free to pursue their own interests so long as they do not interfere with the equal rights of others. By keeping those values alive we are doing something which is absolutely vital for the future of our country.

**We must back William Hague and look forward to the day when we have a truly libertarian society where everybody is free to pursue their own interests so long as they do not interfere with the equal rights of others.**

So I thank you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words to you today. And I am sure that we all want to show our appreciation of Richard Body for his leadership which has been so constant and true all these years. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance. Freedom is not something we can ever take for granted.

● *A Parliament for England* by Teresa Gorman MP, Price £3.50 post free, from *This England*, PO Box 52, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 1YQ.



## Antony Flew writes

I wish it was easier to share Jonathan Collett's optimism about 'Euroscepticism: Past, Present and Future' (*The Individual*, November 1999).

Certainly he is right in his insistence that "The lesson of British politics is that you have to work within and through the major parties." But equally certainly he was mistaken in his conviction "that after the Euro-Elections the Conservative MEPs will split from the European Peoples's Party Grouping in the European Parliament." For this they have not done.

What most needs to be challenged is his assertion that "The EU will break up because of its contradictions." Presumably by such palaeo-Marxist talk of contradictions Collett means conflicts of interest. (What provoked Engels to write *Anti-Duhring* was Herr Eugen Duhring's correct insistence that "Contradiction is a category which can only obtain to a combination of thoughts, but not to reality."). So what are these conflicts of interest?

Or, rather, what are the conflicts of interest between the continental members themselves as opposed to those between them and us? For it should be obvious that the CAP and the CFP have ruined British farming and British fisheries, that the torrent of regulation from Brussels (gold plated by collaborationists in Whitehall) has imposed heavy costs for negligible benefits, and that the continentals have every intention, once our last veto is gone, of increasing our annual tribute to Brussels to at least the higher pre-Thatcher level. (And that is only one of the appalling possibilities of further exploitation which will arise then.)

And what are the supposed benefits of EU membership which supporters mention when they actually deign to discuss the issue rather than simply abusing us? One was the removal of tariff barriers against British exports. But these have now, thanks to WTO, become negligible while our enormous accumulated balance of payments deficit suggests that other obstacles have if anything increased. The other supposed benefit is that our membership gives our politicians influence in Brussels. But the only reason of national interest for wanting them to have such influence is the consequent possibility of their preventing EU membership from doing even more damage to Britain than it already does.

# Are 'Charity Shops' more harm than good?

TERENCE C. JACOBS

We have noted before how a large number of charities now depend on government sponsorship in the form of sub-contracting for services or consultation, so they are effectively instruments of central policies rather than truly independent innovators. Some charities are now extending their activity into areas that adversely affect many traditional small businesses. This is not confined to 'charity shops' - some actually manufacture at home and abroad and sell new goods. Others extend their activities even further into areas such as painting and decorating, removals, gardening, creosoting, car washing, garage services, importing, street collections, car boot sales, scrap metal dealing, and market stalls. Provided you have that 'charity number' it seems any activity is open for trading.

Charity shops are a real growth industry and I know of one in Sheffield that has grown from one shop six years ago to seven now and has hundreds of staff. This must be doing damage to small builders, garages and gardeners for instance who have to pay all their own costs.

These charities are businesses under another name which compete (unfairly) with small businesses. Because the word 'charity' is used it is assumed they must be a 'good thing'.

Also charity shops help to disguise the failings of national and local government. They are usually so inviting and well maintained that they give the impression that the area they are in is vibrant rather than run down. This is a convenient illusion for local government in particular. Once charity shops start appearing in any locality it is a sign of deterioration. If the shop units were left empty, so encouraging less local trade and consequently other shops to move out, it would soon become obvious that an area was deteriorating and there would be demands for the elected national and local representatives to do something about it.

Another effect is that money is lost from local communities. Normally the limited amount of 'physical cash' is spent many times - it circulates - but that which goes into a charity shop is lost because the shop spends nothing on buying its goods or paying staff - who usually work voluntarily.

Charities work exactly like businesses but are given unfair advantages compared with other small businesses. They don't pay council tax, wages, or for stock, and their rent is usually reduced as well. Consequently they are a growth market in retailing but nevertheless misfits in shop parades, arterial roads, and town centres of thousands of places in the UK. Hardly

any consideration is given to the effect they have on other businesses especially the ones who might sell similar items such as clothing or furniture and domestic appliances.

There is also the cost of 'charity rate relief'. This can be ascertained from the non-domestic rates section of local authority offices. In Sheffield the current figure is about £11,000,000. As Sheffield has about 1% of the total population a simple *pro rata* calculation gives a national estimate of around £1 billion. Charities get 80% relief and many local authorities waive the remaining 20%.

## Charities work exactly like businesses but are given unfair advantages compared with other small businesses.

Also the landlords of vacant 'hard to let' shop units welcome charity shops because the rates are paid instead of the landlord being responsible for 50% of the full rate for empty premises. No doubt part of the agreement with the tenant will be to maintain the property and insure it. If the amount lost from the 50% rate obligation of landlords is added to the £1 billion estimated above then we are looking at about £1.5 billion nationally. What is not paid by others means an extra burden on the rest of us.

A check on the items sold by charity shops will reveal that many sell both new and second hand goods. Small businesses have to pay for their stock but charity shops get theirs for nothing (or they are made in their own workshops) so they can undercut the small businesses. And price is primarily what matters in today's economic world.

For the past fifty years or so second hand shops selling 'nearly new' clothing, used washing machines, cookers, furniture and general bric-a-brac have been a feature

of every parade of shops in towns and cities. They were on the estates, arterial roads, and even larger ones in city centres. They are disappearing because of their high overheads compared with subsidized charity shops selling similar items. As more premises become vacant more charity shops move in and the downward spiral continues. In Sheffield even the most up-market local shopping areas have as many as ten charity shops.

The volunteer workers in charity shops are usually older people who want to donate time to helping others and seriously believe they are doing a good job for the community. On one level that is most certainly true, but there are other considerations. Where the charity shop now is there was very likely once a vibrant small business which gave casual work to young people. In the past many young people got their first chance of 'paid work', usually on Saturday morning, doing such jobs as cleaning, making tea, running errands, helping or serving customers etc. Those job opportunities no longer exist and it is a loss to the community. There is very little evidence to suggest that young people do similar things in charity shops. So now charity shops are having a direct and indirect effect on local society. Is it surprising that the young find other things to do - in some cases activities that get them criticised by the very people who have taken away the jobs they used to do?

Also the local second hand shop used to be the place where people could sell some of their surplus personal items that had been purchased in 'better times'. Those days are gone as well because nearly all the small second hand shops have closed. Now there is nowhere to get any money when you are desperate - and this has been brought about by well meaning (and often well-off) people who have donated their surplus goods to charity shops. Because sales are now lower the second hand dealer has less money to offer sellers so the downward spiral takes another turn and eventually they have to close.

In Sheffield there are far fewer second hand shops than there were ten years ago and their demise is mirrored by the growth in charity shops. All that has happened is that businesses paying full and proper cost have been replaced by highly subsidized charity shops.

● Terrence Jacobs is a well-known trader in the Sheffield area. His website is [www.djtools-direct.co.uk](http://www.djtools-direct.co.uk).

# Two views on the National Lottery

WALT HARE V. ANNE GUISHE

Since its' start in 1996 the National Lottery has rarely been out of the news. Primarily because of media interest in the people whose winnings have made millionaires, but also for a range of related issues. Follow-up stories on the winners and how it affected their lives, Richard Branson's claims, the battle for the next franchise, the charitable causes Lottery money has gone to.

Here Walt Hare and Anne Guishe tell us why the National Lottery should stay or go.

## Against the National Lottery

It is not a matter of being against the idea of the National Lottery in principle, or the way Camelot has run it. From the start of the discussions about it there was every sign that it was destined to be a good idea spoilt and that is the way it has turned out.

Of course, the lottery was resisted largely on 'moral' grounds - making money from gambling without work or effort was morally wrong, the old puritan argument. On the other hand taking risks and bearing the losses of bad ones and benefiting (usually financially) from the good ones is the main driving force behind economic progress. But there are two types of risk taking - calculated risks and pure gambling risks. These may overlap in the sense that the same situation looks different to different people. If you don't know anything about horses and bookmaking then horse racing is pure gambling with the proverbial pin as the most important piece of equipment, but if you do know something about it then it becomes a calculated risk with the form book as the main piece of equipment. Much the same thing applies to the stock markets - if you understand economics and company accounts the markets are a calculated risk, if not then they are just a gamble.

**As with charities which receive government grants for 'contracts' the prospect of a lottery grant immediately generates a desire to comply with whatever requirements are laid down for receiving such grants.**

The national lottery is arranged to be a pure gamble in the sense that there is no way of predicting the result. What is the chance of getting the numbers 1,2,3,4,5,6 as the result? Just the same as for any other six numbers, so if the first six seems very unlikely then it is no more unlikely than any other combination of six selections such as birthdays or house

numbers. So the national lottery is made for the classic gambling 'come on'. The big prizes are very unlikely so it can afford to pay very large amounts in the certain knowledge that few can win but the prospect of winning the very big prizes will attract a lot of punters. As there is no skill of any sort involved it is classically 'democratic' in the sense that everybody has an equal, though minuscule, chance of a really big win. A classical appeal to 'irrational greed' which can easily empty the pockets of the mathematically unsophisticated who often lead dull and boring lives anyway so the prospect of instant great wealth is especially beguiling. In other words the success of the lottery depends on appealing to the very same irrational impulses which are usually so deplored in other contexts (eg. Bank robberies or large scale systematic social security fraud).

**A classical appeal to 'irrational greed' which can easily empty the pockets of the mathematically unsophisticated who often lead dull and boring lives anyway so the prospect of instant great wealth is especially beguiling.**

The 'excuse' in the case of the national lottery is, of course, that the profits are devoted to promoting 'good causes' (apart from Camelot's fees and the inevitable slice of taxation). It is this aspect of the present national lottery set up which is where the good idea spoilt aspect is most evident. And yet another example of the way 'the public' is systematically seduced into tacitly accepting more and more government (ie political) influence on both resourcedistribution and available choices for whatever money individuals have left after meeting direct, indirect, and stealth taxes. What exactly is a good cause? Whatever it is is decided by yet another committee of the great and good. They decide which organisations are to receive some share of the lottery profits and how

much.

As with charities which receive government grants for 'contracts' the prospect of a lottery grant immediately generates a desire to comply with whatever requirements are laid down for receiving such grants. In other words yet another extension of 'Hobson's choice' in conforming with establishment and essentially politically correct attitudes and policies. Very significant was the promise that lottery money would not replace existing government grants to arts and humanitarian causes which was enthusiastically endorsed by the new ruling class who rely extensively on taxpayer support.

It would really have been much better to use lottery money to replace some aspects of government expenditure and so reduce general taxation. This being the exact reverse of what was actually done. A similar effect to the 'good causes' as motivation could be achieved by specific targeting of some government service, particularly one where the expenditure of 'government money' has largely destroyed the incentive for people to provide it for themselves. The Health Service and Education are the most obvious areas because taxation money saved could then be used to extend the much more effective private provision of such services.

● Walt Hare is an economist and occasional libertarian writer.

## In Favour of the National Lottery

Well I think the National Lottery was and is a very good idea. Instead of a long argument I am sure the best argument is experience. So here is a recording from a very good friend of mine, Kevin - who might seem a bit rough at first but is really sensitive and discerning, deep down - of his introduction to culture as a result of the National Lottery supporting artistic activities.

"My friend Anne gave me this ticket to a dance show which she called 'ballet' because she couldn't go with her posh boyfriend. He must have been the bloke next to me with the bow tie and corduroy jacket. I thought there would be a lot of girls with not much on dancing around but it started off with just one geezer jumping around on his own. I could see why he was jumping because if my trousers were as tight as his I'd feel like jumping around a bit. And he kept putting his hand over his

eyes as if he was looking for something like where he could make himself comfortable without all us looking at him.

But after he had been jumping and twirling about a bit a really thin woman ran from the side and sort of threw herself at him! She must have been in a hurry because she only had her underslip on and soft slippers. Anyway this geezer caught her and started twirling her round and she didn't seem to mind. In fact, judging by where he was putting his hands he must have known her quite well. If I tried feeling the girls I know in those places I would probably get my face slapped and a lawsuit as well!

**A really thin woman ran from the side and sort of threw herself at him! She must have been in a hurry because she only had her underslip on and soft slippers.**

Anyway after they had been going on like this for some time he seemed to get fed-up with her and sort of threw her away and she ran off looking quite upset. Then he went on jumping about and looking in the distance for a bit until another anorexic type bird ran from the other side and went on with him like the first one. Then he just threw her away as well. And after that there was yet another one. I thought that if he was going to throw her away as well he might throw her my way and I'd see she wouldn't go off upset. But she went the same way as the others. I hope they consoled themselves with a good meal, they all needed a one.

When the last girl had gone, the bloke did some more jumping and twirling and then ran off as well and everybody clapped.

"Well, there weren't many laughs in that; nobody said anything or sang a song," I said to Anne's other boyfriend, and he looked at me in a funny way - down his nose like.

"Of course nobody said anything. It was all symbolic. It was all in the symbolism!" he said in his plummy voice.

Then the penny dropped when I thought about symbolism! Of course it was obvious - a proper window on real life. That geezer had very bad eyesight and all that jumping and twirling was symbolic of his journey through life looking for his ideal woman and probably other things as well. And he knew what he wanted. When women just threw themselves at him he tested them out and if they were not suitable he sent them off. No matter how easy a substitute seems to come, stick out for what you want.

**"Of course nobody said anything. It was all symbolic. It was all in the symbolism!" he said in his plummy voice.**

**Then the penny dropped when I thought about symbolism! Of course it was obvious - a proper window on real life.**

I always wanted a red Ferrari and a really well built girlfriend with plenty of bounce not the anorexic kind who threw themselves at that geezer who was obviously well provided for himself. So what I had to do was put all the money I could lay my hands on into buying National Lottery tickets so I could get a big win and then get what I really want in life. And I learnt that all through art and the lottery!

● Anne Guishe's latest book *The Agony of Affluence* is a heart rending account of a lone social worker's struggle to save children in Chelsea and Kensington from the corrosive physical and mental effects of alcohol fumes, cigar smoke, and elitist education. Copies may be ordered on the Internet from [remainders.com](http://remainders.com) at 75p per dozen copies (hardback) or 50p per dozen (softback).

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## Heroic video games

MARTIN BALL

No matter how much the hostility to video games is dressed up in academic psychological gobbledegook the true objection to them is because of their championing of individual freedom. Just as was the case previously with comic books, bubble gum, cigarette cards and B-movies, the paternalist movement recognises video games as a threat to their desire to stop us enjoying ourselves.

What the kill-joy element amongst grown-ups don't like is that given a choice of activities video games win every time. Naturally enough teenagers prefer to spend hours playing them, rather than engaging in worthy socially conscious alternatives such as saving the environment. And hurrah for that! Who can blame the kids for resisting political indoctrination? Especially if there is the opportunity for a bit of shoot 'em up at hand.

**The paternalist movement recognises video games as a threat to their desire to stop us enjoying ourselves.**

Rather than restricting the availability of games or the time teenagers spend playing them, we should be positively encouraging them to do more. Perhaps even using Lottery money to give kids in deprived areas free consoles and free access to the latest games. That's a better solution to our social ills than teaching them non-competitive sports at state schools.

Video games are infused with a heroic philosophy in which individual entrepreneurship is of paramount importance. In Super Mario, for example, it isn't society that is going to save Princess Daisy, but Mario who must do it. Game players aren't bystanders in the action but participants who actively determine the outcome of the heroic struggle. You are in there, kicking ass, helping the little guy in his struggle against the evil oppressors.

**Video games are infused with a heroic philosophy**

Sonic the Hedgehog, Mario and their ilk remind us of the importance of individualism and that social repression in all its guises exists to be defeated. Long live Lara Croft, and game on!

# Tyranny of the law

JOHN MCLEAN

**It is indeed a pleasure to be speaking to a group of people who value the importance of individual rights as in the new liberal dominated age in which we live our masters in government are engaged in a subtle and step-by-step process to replace individual rights with so-called group rights which in reality mean rights not for every individual but only for members of those groups who by blandishments, threats and coercion have managed to excite the support of the liberal legislators who are only too ready to use the law to impose their own particular prejudices on the rest of the population.**

My new book, *Tyranny of the Law* is an attempt to show just how much freedom, privacy and personal choice the individual has lost in recent years as a result of the ever increasing volume of laws that dictate how people should live their lives and run their businesses. It is poignant to note that, at the very time that communism in Russia and Eastern Europe was being defeated by the courage, foresight and consistency of purpose of the British and American governments, those self-same governments were busy ensnaring their own citizens in more and more rules and regulations.

We have always had laws to provide a structure for society; what is new is the intrusion of law into every little aspect of our daily lives and the huge army of petty officials who are vested with despotic powers not unlike those of a feudal baron or Stuart king.

To give some idea of the ever increasing amount of legislation one only needs to look at the volumes of statutes on the shelf of a law library. In the 1960s and 1970s they could be bound in only one volume for a complete year. For 1997 there are four volumes, not to mention the 3,114 statutory instruments, thousands of council by-laws and 8,814 "directives" from the unelected foreigners in Brussels who now make so many of the laws that affect British people in their everyday lives. And all these laws are only the ones that were inflicted on us in 1997!

This deluge of legislation is, of course, moving in on territory that was once covered by the common law which, as you know, is the body of case law that represents the accumulated wisdom of the judges over the generations and which has stood the most important test of all, the test of time. Contrast this with some of the recent statutes like the Criminal Justice Act or the Crime and Disorder Act which are nothing more than hurriedly put together laws that are based on the hysteria of the moment or the prejudices of the

governing party and their supreme need to stay in office. It is sad to have to state that the common law to-day is but a shadow of its former self. It has largely been replaced by a mass of cumbersome and often vague statutes and, even worse, decisions of the foreign judges who make up the European Court and who have no understanding of English common law. More laws but less justice.

**We have always had laws to provide a structure for society; what is new is the intrusion of law into every little aspect of our daily lives and the huge army of petty officials who are vested with despotic powers not unlike those of a feudal baron or Stuart king.**

The erosion of the common law is part of the attack on our ancient rights and institutions by so-called "modernists" and "reformers" who have wormed their way into the upper echelons of power. These types are mostly technocrats who prefer logic to custom. This only shows how little they understand of the British character and the forces that moulded it. No one has ever understood the British better than Disraeli, who said, "It is our institutions that have made us free, and alone can keep us so; by the bulwark which they offer to the insidious encroachments of a convenient, yet enervating system of centralisation which, if left unchecked, will prove fatal to the national character."

When people are prised away from their institutions – as is happening to-day with things like the emasculation of the House of Lords, compulsory metrification which is coming in at the end of the year, and the government's readiness to abolish the pound – they are made to feel rootless and alienated from familiar things and traditional values. Of course, rootless people are easier to manipulate and this probably explains Blair's obsession with throwing out anything that is traditional

and his lack of respect for age old institutions.

In his biography of Charles James Fox, the author, Christopher Hobhouse, wrote, "Liberty, like happiness, is most perfect when least remarked. As most misery is caused by the pursuit of an abstract happiness, distinct from the occupations that make men happy, so most tyranny springs from the struggle for an abstract liberty, distinct from the laws and institutions that make men free."

In other words, liberty should be a practical thing rather than abstract. Unfortunately, in their mindless enthusiasm for abstract rights, the liberals fail to have any regard for the practical consequences which usually result in individuals losing a bit more of their freedom of choice in order to accommodate the latest group rights which are imposed on society for no better reason than to appease some loud, pushy and well-connected pressure group. Let us not forget that a new group right can be achieved only by taking away existing individual rights. For example, the right to a harassment free work place means that you are no longer free to make a joke while the government's proposed statutory right for anyone to walk on other people's land whenever they feel like it – the so-called "right to roam" – means that the owners of more than four million acres of England and Wales are going to lose one of the most basic of all property rights – the right to keep strangers and intruders off your land. These are classic examples of what happens when high sounding abstract rights are imposed by law on every single member of society.

**Liberty should be a practical thing rather than abstract.**

A few years ago a decent and responsible citizen could go through life without ever coming into conflict with the law. Not any longer. What with wheel clamping, the restrictions of smoking, the noise regulations, the beef ban, the proposed ban of fox hunting, the prohibition against having a barbecue on the beach or even accidentally brushing against a woman colleague at a staff Christmas party and being hit with a sexual harassment charge, the days when laws were enacted for the purpose of protecting person and property are well and truly over. They have been replaced by a regime of overbearing arrogance that seems to have as its twin objects the maximum

harassment of the citizen and a new form of indirect taxation, viz. the filling of government and council coffers by means of large fines for all sorts of trivial transgressions.

The sad result of all this is that it undermines respect for the law on the part of the ordinary citizen. A woman who has been wheel clamped in a quiet street on a Saturday morning, the Californian who is fined \$500 for lighting a cigarette in a bar, or the butcher who is fined or sent to gaol for selling a piece of beef that is still attached to the bone, are not likely to have any positive or co-operative feelings towards the enforcement of other laws.

Because of the mass of overbearing regulations that interfere with the citizen in his private life, the law is fast losing any semblance of reasonableness or credibility and is being increasingly ignored. Instead of using their imagination and trying to reverse this widespread distrust of the law, the authorities can not break out of the official mindset that every single member of the public is a potential criminal who has to be categorised, controlled and regulated right down to the nth degree.

The authorities get away with passing laws that strip away our rights and freedoms by frightening the public into believing that it is "in the wider interests of the community" that some perceived evil be remedied by yet another legal imposition on the citizen. Their usual justification for trampling individual rights further into the ground is "the continuing fight against crime" or, the most hackneyed of all, "the war against drugs". One wonders if it has ever occurred to them that, the more laws that are enacted, the more laws there are to break – especially since so many laws these days do not seem to have any social objective other than further dictating how the citizen should live and go about his or her private business.

#### **Those who trade liberty for safety deserve neither.**

The most effective way to strip people of their rights and liberties is to do it step by step. The trick is to get the principle accepted first by saying that it will apply only to a very small group. This will not bother most people because, being outside the group, they will not feel threatened by it. But, of course, once the principle is accepted, governments then apply it to more and more people in a careful step-by-step process which is deliberately designed not to antagonise everyone at

once.

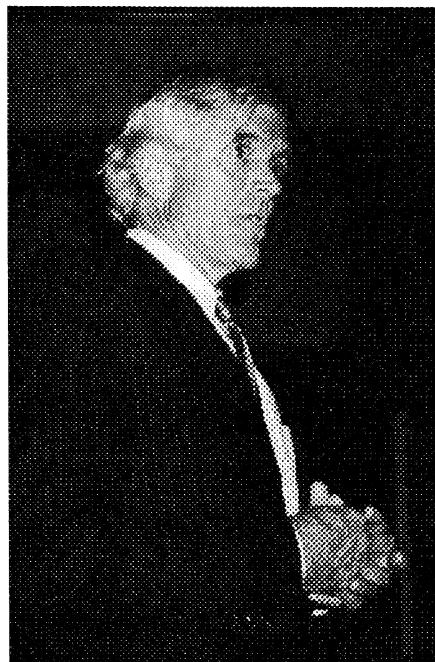
This can be illustrated by several examples starting with income tax which was introduced in 1842 at the rate of seven pence in the pound in the days when there were two hundred and forty pennies in a golden pound. It was introduced as a temporary measure with a firm promise that it would not be increased. I don't have to tell the rest of the story.

The ever increasing restrictions on smoking and the seat belt laws are further examples of how people's rights are being chipped away in a step by step process in the hope that they don't realise what is happening. First it was only front seat drivers who were forced to wear seat belts. Then, at the urging of the seat belt lobbyists, sometimes financed by the companies that make the seat belts, the law was extended to back seat drivers as well. And was that the end of the story? Of course not; this thing is all about money. The American government has now made it compulsory for golfers to wear seat belts when riding around the grassy links in a golf buggy. Forget to put it on between the seventh and the eighth hole and you can be fined.

The fact is that, while in many cases seat belts have saved people's lives, in hundreds of other cases they have killed people who have been wearing them. They prevent escape when a car catches on fire or falls into a river or canal and some people have had their throats cut by them or their spleen ruptured. One woman, Handy Walker, lost her unborn twins as a result of stomach injuries caused by wearing a seat belt. These, of course, are things that the safety brigade go to a lot of trouble to hide.

A favourite ploy of the authorities is to use so-called "health and safety" regulations to strip the citizen of his freedom of choice. These laws are often difficult to oppose because of the media hysteria that surrounds particular high profile accidents together with the irrational but widely held belief that the government has the power to legislate accidents out of existence. It was Benjamin Franklin who said, "Those who trade liberty for safety deserve neither."

The same step by step imposition of regulations can be seen in respect of crash helmets. They were originally required for motor cyclists but now in Australia and New Zealand, as a result of a very skilful lobbying campaign by the manufacturers, they have been made compulsory for all people who ride bicycles. The next target



of the helmet entrepreneurs will be people travelling in cars. In fact, the Federal Office of Road Safety in Australia has already put out a report stating that there would be "huge savings" if all motor vehicle occupants could be forced to wear helmets. And what will come after that? Well, in Japan one city got its schools to require all children walking to school to wear crash helmets.

Another example of how restrictions on our liberty are introduced stealthily and in stages is in the Sex Discrimination Act which was enacted in 1975 on certain conditions, each one of which has later been broken. The Act was passed by Parliament only on condition that there could be exclusions on the grounds of "privacy and decency", that sports and social clubs could have different types of membership for men and women and that the Act would not apply to the armed forces. These conditions are now being breached one by one.

**In Japan one city got its schools to require all children walking to school to wear crash helmets.**

The armed forces became subject to the Act in 1995; this was accepted by the forces on the condition that there be an exclusion clause for acts relating to "combat effectiveness". Now the Equal Opportunities Commission is agitating to do away with even this exception and no doubt the government will oblige as the present crop of ministers, like Clinton, have very little knowledge or experience of the armed forces.

Other conditions on which the Sex

Discrimination Act was passed in 1975 are also being undermined by the Equal Opportunities Commission which, incidentally, despite its name, is probably the most discriminatory employer in Britain; scarcely a man is to be found among its thousands of employees. The Commission has called for an end to the "privacy and decency" provisions of the Act. In other words, no more "woman only" gym sessions or men's days at the golf club or the exclusion by schools of women from games of rugby.

### **The track record of liberal judges in standing up for individual liberties like freedom of speech leaves quite a lot to be desired.**

Even that most hallowed of all liberties, freedom of speech, is gradually being chipped away by the authorities. Over the years millions of men have died on the battle field for the right to freedom of expression. In his wartime address on the Four Freedoms President Roosevelt said, "The first is freedom of speech and expression." And yet despite all this we no longer enjoy the same freedom of speech as our fathers and grandfathers did.

The first inroads on this most sacred of all our traditional freedoms have been in the name of race relations and so-called "sexual equality". There is probably no sillier section in any statute than s.38 of the Sex Discrimination Act which declares that it is "unlawful to publish...an advertisement which indicates, or might reasonably be understood as indicating" that an employer wants a person of a particular sex for a job. If he should specify "waiter, salesgirl, postman or stewardess" he can be fined £400. This, of course, is a violation of his right to free speech. If he wants to employ a girl as a waitress, it is a criminal offence to say so. If he wants to employ a man to dig up some concrete with a pneumatic drill, he is not allowed to put his thoughts into words.

Similarly, s.19 of the Public Order Act 1986 makes it a crime to use "abusive or insulting words" if they are intended or *likely* to stir up racial hatred. And who will decide if the words are "abusive or insulting"? Why, the liberal judges, of course, whose track record in standing up for individual liberties like freedom of speech leaves quite a lot to be desired.

No one should condone abusive or insulting language of any kind but, by making one particular type of abusive or insulting language a crime, the government

has established a precedent which can be used for further attacks on the individual's right to freedom of expression further down the line.

The next restriction on freedom of speech is likely to be found in the new Race Relations Act which the Home Secretary, Mr Straw, is threatening to impose on the nation in the near future. Straw has already said that he is "profoundly committed" to incorporate the findings of the report that Sir William McPherson made in his foolish and disproportionate over-reaction to the murder of Stephen Lawrence.

In addition to all the headline grabbing allegations that McPherson made against the police and other large slices of British society, he also suggested that the government should consider extending the criminal law to cover so-called "racist language" in a variety of situations which would include the privacy of one's home. To recommend that just on sixty million people in Britain should lose the right to say and do as they like in their own homes just because one black man was killed at a bus stop in London shows just how fragile our liberties are and how ready types like McPherson are to take them away from us at the slightest opportunity.

Having established the precedent to limit free speech in the name of "race relations", the government's next step is going to be the prohibition of statements of "xenophobia" which, as we all know, is a very vague concept.

**Never before have we heard so much talk about abstract "rights"—human rights, rights for minorities, the right to choose and so on and yet the more "rights" we have, the less freedom each individual seems to enjoy.**

The Amsterdam Treaty of the European Union, that was signed by the newly elected and inexperienced Labour Government in 1997, requires the member states (including Britain) to outlaw not only so-called "racist language" but also expressions of xenophobia. If we had had such a law in the 1930s Churchill would have been thrown into prison for making his speeches warning of the growing Nazi menace in Germany. The purpose of this proposed law, which will prohibit the writing or uttering of any statement that can be interpreted as xenophobic, is of course to stifle any voices of opposition to our remaining a member of the European Union. Such would be "xenophobic" and,

as such, a crime.

The European Union, with its centralised direction, has often been compared to the Napoleonic crusade to unite Europe by force and deception. To stifle opposition to the concept of a single European state in this way, with everyone hammered into a dull uniformity by a mountain of laws like outlawing statements that can imaginatively be interpreted as "xenophobic", is exactly the type of thing that Napoleon would have done.

Once they have got statements of xenophobia safely on the statute books as a crime, they will then think of some other way of enlarging the ever widening chink in the dam of free expression. The step-by-step process is preferred by the authorities because they do not want us to see the big picture which is an ever tightening noose around the neck of the citizen as the law dictates to him in ever greater detail exactly how he should live, think and behave.

Never before have we heard so much talk about abstract "rights"—human rights, rights for minorities, the right to choose and so on and yet the more "rights" we have, the less freedom each individual seems to enjoy.

Take the case of Mr Barry Evans, the owner of a small health food shop in Braintree, Essex, who put an advertisement in his shop window for part-time staff. He telephoned one applicant who sounded suitable for the job only to discover that she was six months pregnant—something she had not disclosed on her application form. Since the work involved heavy lifting, which could not be done by a pregnant woman, Mr Evans turned her down. At no time did he ever meet this woman; his only contact with her was one telephone conversation.

She took him to an industrial tribunal which held that his main reason for not employing her was that she was pregnant and this amounted to "unlawful discrimination". Mr Evans was ordered to pay this woman whom he had never even seen a total of £2,652, being £661 for "lost pay" and £1991 for "upset and lost confidence"! The result was that Mr Evans, aged 60, who had already had to sell his home and move to a smaller one to keep his business afloat, was forced to close down his shop.

Mr David Hands, press officer of the Federation of Small Businesses, said of this decision, "It means that a small business owner could be skating on thin ice even just interviewing or advertising for prospective employees." It also means

that every pregnant woman in the country can make some quick and shark-like money by applying for jobs that are physically impossible for a pregnant woman to perform. And, when the employer sensibly points this out to her, he can be dragged before an industrial tribunal and made to pay a huge amount in damages.

One of the characteristics of individual liberty is that it can be a bit chaotic at times or at least appear so to the technocrat governing class. It is better to have a whole lot of free people running around, doing their own thing in irregular fashion, than to have everyone hammered into conformity and obedience to an unfeeling, impersonal and often brutal state.

One of the worst aspects of the tyranny of the law is its intrusion into whole areas of private life that were once regarded as off-limits to government snoops, inspectors and cops. It was not very long ago that the criminal law was concerned with protecting person and property and keeping the peace. Now it does not seem to have any limits.

Under the Criminal Justice Act it is illegal for a person to have a party on his own property if a) it is held outdoors, b) more than a hundred people attend, and c) techno music is played (even at low volume). If these three conditions are present, a cop can enter on to the private property and arrest the host without a warrant even if there has not been any complaint from the neighbours. Furthermore, if a cop "reasonably believes" that a person is on his way to the party, he may stop him and prevent him from proceeding anywhere within five miles of the site of the party. This, of course, is a violation of the traditional right of every Englishman to freedom of movement and, if the partygoer refuses to comply with the order not to proceed any further, he can be arrested on the spot and without a warrant.

**It is better to have a whole lot of free people running around, doing their own thing in irregular fashion, than to have everyone hammered into conformity and obedience to an unfeeling, impersonal and often brutal state.**

So, listening to your own kind of music at a party is added to all the other things that individuals are no longer allowed to do – smoking in certain public places, eating a T-bone steak, and following the sport of one's choice. The Olympic sport of pistol shooting was outlawed in the aftermath of the Dunblane massacre

because the government could not distinguish between a weapon and a piece of sporting equipment and so they decided that everyone who owned a sporting handgun was a potential madman who was likely to roll up to the local school and massacre everyone in the gymnasium. The usual story of the authorities using a sledgehammer to crack a nut.

**One of the worst aspects of the tyranny of the law is its intrusion into whole areas of private life that were once regarded as off-limits to government snoops, inspectors and cops.**

The next sport to be banned is going to be foxhunting and, after that, it will probably be fishing. Mr Blair has given his personal guarantee that he won't try to turn fishermen into criminals as well but, if it is anything like the solemn promise that he gave to the people of Northern Ireland that the I.R.A. must maintain a "complete and unequivocal ceasefire" for their prisoners to get early release or for their political representatives to take their seats in the executive, it will hardly be worth the paper it is written on.

And isn't it interesting that the same liberals who want to ban all these things are only too ready to use the Benthamite argument that, where an individual's behaviour does not harm another, the law should not interfere, when it relates to something of which they approve like homosexuality at the age of sixteen but they deny the same argument when it is applied to fox hunting for no better reason than that people who hunt are not likely to vote for the Labour Party?

Much of the explanation for the subjugation of individual rights in favour of vague concepts like community and group rights is that all the so-called modern democracies of the West are now in the vice like grip of a very powerful liberal establishment.

This self-appointed "enlightened elite", which includes most of the politicians, judges and bureaucrats as well as university lecturers, school teachers and social workers, have taken it upon themselves to decide what is good for everyone; any individual, who still thinks for himself and might disagree with the way these precious people use the law to reshape society in accordance with their own prejudices, will be suppressed with the full force of the law.

Their social engineering schemes and their itch to tell everyone else how to live

their lives are a threat to all of us. Indeed, the most noticeable feature of the liberals is their intolerance of any point of view other than their own. The result of this illiberal imposition of liberalism has been a greater erosion of individual rights and liberties than has ever occurred before and the purpose of my book is to awaken in the reader the true and alarming extent of these reductions in personal freedom over the last few years.

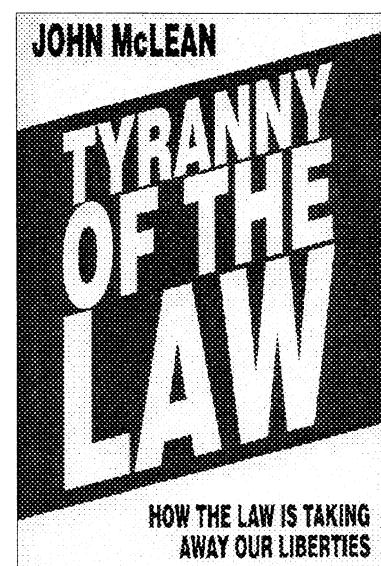
By exposing the negative effects of laws that violate individual liberty and freedom of choice the aim of my book is not anarchy but a greater respect for the law on the part of the citizen as, the more that the law violates individual freedom, the less it will be respected.

**Their social engineering schemes and their itch to tell everyone else how to live their lives are a threat to all of us. Indeed, the most noticeable feature of the liberals is their intolerance of any point of view other than their own.**

The traditional rights of Englishmen belong to us as individuals and they are not the government's property to take away from us in the interests of administrative convenience or to oblige passing whims, hysterias and pressure groups.

There is a tendency today to use the law to centralise and homogenise society and those who stand up for their individual rights and won't conform are branded by the authorities as "extremists". However, as Barry Goldwater said when he was standing for President in 1964, "Extremism in the defence of liberty is no vice."

- Copies of *Tyranny of the Law* are available from 020-7580 5816, priced £7.99.



# POLICYSCOPE - A guide to the political policy scene

Welcome to PolicyScope, a round up of the latest policy prescriptions and analysis from the vibrant UK Think-Tank and pressure group scene.

The latest firecracker from the Bruges Group is an analysis of the Conservative Party's EU policy by their Co-Chairman Dr Martin Holmes. In *William Hague's European Policy* (£4.95), Dr Holmes expresses concern that Hague will repeat the equivocation of John Major when Britain needs a government to renegotiate a satisfactory relationship with the continent based on free trade not political union. Noting that Mrs Thatcher was removed from office before she could renegotiate and that John Major was unwilling to do so because of his prized attachment to the Maastricht Treaty, Holmes suggests that: "Mr Hague now has a golden opportunity to embrace the policy of fundamental re-negotiation - with withdrawal an acknowledged option should diplomacy fail. William Hague should seize the opportunity or else his successor as Conservative leader surely will."

In an excellent pamphlet for New Europe - *British influence and the euro* (£5) - Sir John Coles' addresses the question of whether British influence will be enhanced or diminished by entry into the Euro. Sir John, who was until late 1997, Head of the British Diplomatic Service and Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office thinks not. He believes that if we want to avoid Britain losing influence then it is better to stay out of the single currency project and that on the non-Euro EU business Britain will be just as influential as before.

Sir John is more forthright in stating the case for keeping the pound: "In the world at large, we shall be much more influential if we keep our distinctive currency, assets and policies. By staying out, we avoid a major surrender of national decision-making powers, preserve the functions of the national institutions such as government and parliament that we know and understand and thus sustain our sense of belonging to Britain."

More reflections on the Euroland situation come with Aims of Industry's *The Euro Trap* (£5) by Sir Trevor Lloyd-

Hughes, who as Press Secretary to Prime Minister Harold Wilson in the late 1960s and then an Adviser to his Government has an alpha-plus insider status. In addition to stating his conviction that the UK can go it alone, Sir Trevor whets our appetite for what might have been by remembering the then Mr Wilson speculating on the 'possible creation of an Atlantic Free Trade Area which would include Britain, Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and certain of the EFTA countries: and, given the increasing American interest in the Far East, probably Japan and possibly South Korea and Thailand'.

Conservative MEP Roger Helmer has published *Straight Talking on Europe* (available from the European Foundation, price £5), in which he argues that ever-deeper European integration presents a danger to British prosperity and independence. Oh really.

For all those concerned with Tony Blair's Big Tent project, then the CPS have published an essential guide to the movers and shakers in the New Labour establishment. In *The Great and Good? The Rise of the New Class* (£7.50) Martin McElwee reveals the new on-message group of men and women who now hold the real reins of power. This diverse bunch comes from the Arts, Business, Academia, etc, and includes potential critics who it is believed are better neutralised by bringing them inside the tent.

The March 2000 issue of the Institute of Economic Affairs' journal *Economic Affairs* (£5), edited by Julian Morris, contains a collection of articles on 'Markets and the Internet' which discuss the growth of the Internet and its effects on the economy. According to Morris the Internet will make winners of "consumers, entrepreneurs and libertarians who seek to overthrow oppressive regimes". Power to the browser!

In a publication for the Bow Group - *Access to Government: Genuine Freedom of Information for the United Kingdom* (£5) - author Marcus Marsh outlines the advantages that freedom of Information will bring and puts forward a radical proposal for the disclosure of government information

based on independently monitored and enforced access. He also argues that modern technology can revolutionise the State/citizen interaction.

That "Thatcherism is no longer relevant" was the message of Damian Green MP's address to the Tory Reform Group's Macmillan Lecture 2000 and available as *Who Needs One Nation Conservatism?* (£2.50). Green believes that although Thatcherism was right for its time, that time has passed and the Conservative Party should be establishing itself as the "moderate force" in British politics if it is ever to return to power.

The Social Affairs Unit's *Good Companies Don't Have Missions* (£3.50) examines the declarations of corporate purpose espoused by commercial enterprises. Author Digby Anderson believes the culture of Mission Statements illustrates that companies "are losing sight of their central, even sole true purpose" to make money for their shareholders.

In *Clear Blue Water: Commonsense and the Conservative Party* (free on the Internet) the policy newcomers TFTM (that's Thinking For The Millennium) sets out proposals for the future of the Conservative Party. TFTM urge William Hague to position the Conservatives as of freedom and individual liberty, in contrast to the Big Brother, 'we know best' attitude of the Labour Government.

You will have to excuse me once again for ending with a personal plug for one of my own publications, *Smoking: The New Apartheid*, published by UK smokers' rights group FOREST. It identifies a new form of discrimination facing adult smokers; a rising tendency for employers to specify that smokers needn't bother applying for the advertised vacancy because they will be rejected regardless of their suitability in every other respect. It also outlines how companies are no longer simply content with staff obeying the no-smoking rule in the workplace, but what to stop them smoking in their free time out of working hours. If anybody would like a free copy, simply contact me by telephoning 020-7233 6144 or emailing [mball@btinternet.com](mailto:mball@btinternet.com). ©Martin Ball, June 2000.

# BOOKS

*A Diet of Brussels: The Changing Face of Europe*

Leon Brittan

Little Brown, £18.99

Former EU Commissioner Brittan offers not just a manifesto for the future of Europe, but also attempts a rebuttal of the criticisms leveled against the European Project.

*Blowing the Whistle*

Paul van Buitenen

Politico's Publishing, £15

An exposé of the corruption at the heart of the EU system from the whistleblower whose allegation were dismissed by those at the top.

*A Ringside Seat*

Michael Brunson

Holder & Stoughton, £18.99

ITN's retiring, but not shy, political editor Michael Brunson reflects on his career and the events he has reported on. The book offers a hard-hitting assessment of the relationship between politicians and the media. An excellent first-hand account of recent political history.

*New Labour, New Language?*

Norman Fairclough

Routledge, £9.99

A study of the words of the New Labour project that claims it is taking the marketing of politics further than ever before.

*Reclaiming Education*

James Tooley

Cassell, £40

Professor James Tooley tackles head-on the belief that the state is needed to fund and regulate the provision of education. Reminding us that literacy levels were around 90% before education was nationalised in 1870, Tooley calls on the state to get out of the way and allow the energy of entrepreneurship to solve our education ills.

*Pride and Perjury*

Jonathan Aitken

HarperCollins, £19.99

A repentant treatise in which the jailbird former politician tells us why he is sorry. Or does he?

*Going to War*

Max Hastings

Macmillan, £16

The memoirs of the man who 'liberated'

the Upland Goose pub in Port Stanley during the Falklands War.

*The New Century*

Eric Hobsbawm

Little Brown, £16.99

An ultimately pessimistic analysis of what the next hundred years by the UK's foremost Marxist historian.

*The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930s*

Piers Brendon

Jonathan Cape, £25

A vast overview of the years later described by W. H. Auden as the "low, dishonest decade" that concerns itself with the actions of that period's political leaders.

*The Third Way and its Critics*

Anthony Giddens

Polity Press, £19.95

A defence of the Third Way from its architect.

*A Strange Eventful History: Democratic Socialism in Britain*

Edmund Dell

HarperCollins, £24.99

Former Cabinet Minister Dell charts the rise and fall of Socialism in Britain during the 20th Century. As useful for socialists to find out why it all went wrong, as for Conservatives on a 'know thine enemy' basis.

*The Labour Party: A Centenary History*

Edited by Brian Brivati & Richard

Heffernan

Macmillan, £50

The official account of 100 years in the life of the British Labour Party

*Local Political Leadership*

Steve Leach

Policy Press, £17.99

A look at political leadership at local authority level.

*Vote.com*

Dick Morris

R Books, £22.95

Former Clinton aide examines the role of the Internet in developing the relationship between voters and politicians.

*Whispers of Betrayal*

Michael Dobbs

HarperCollins, £16.99

The tenth novel from the writer of the House of Cards trilogy, and creator of Francis Urquhart, concerning the activities

of a Thomas Goodfellowe MP.

*Chasing Men*

Edwina Currie

Hodder, £14.99

Plucky Edwina's latest bonkbuster.

*Jim Bleat for Prime Minister*

Margaret Woodhouse

Politico's Publishing, £5.99

Jim Bleat is a sheep who wants to be Prime Minister and the book tells the story of his political fights against the sheep and pigs.

*The Clematis Tree*

Ann Widdecombe

Weidenfeld, £9.99

The first novel from the woman who wants to be the next Tory Home Secretary.

*The Running Mate*

Joe Klein

Chatto & Windus, £16.99

The sensational new novel from the now 'outed' originally anonymous author of Primary Colours.

*Political London*

J B Seatrobe

Politico's Publishing, £6.99

Packed with fascinating material about political London past and present. It's the first ever book to give visitors and natives alike all the essential information for sightseeing in the greatest political city in the world.

## VIDEOS

*Bulworth*

Fox, £12.99

Warren Beatty's political satire is now on sale on video. As the advertising puff says: 'Brace yourself... This politician is about to tell the truth.' Really?

## AUDIOBOOK

*The Consolations of Philosophy*

Read by Alain De Botton

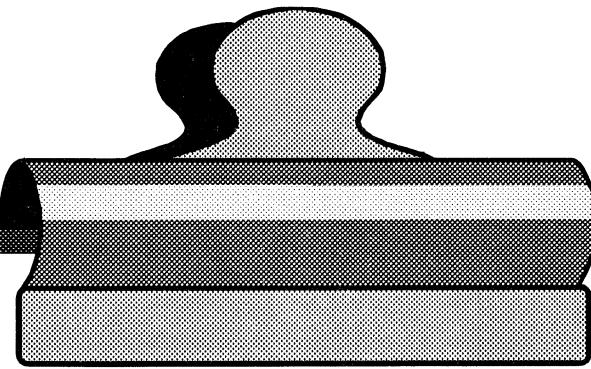
Penguin, £8.99

In the work of six great philosophers Alain de Botton seeks answers to the ills of modern society.

*Alan Clark's Diaries*

Collins, £10.99

The late Al's hugely popular daily entries.



## **THE POLITICAL ATTRACTIONS**

Tuesday 27th June

**IEA HAYEK MEMORIAL LECTURE**

Benno Schmidt, CEO The Edison Project

1 Great George Street, London, SW1P 3AA

6.30pm. Details from 020-7799 8900

Wednesday 5th July

**Freedom Association Silver Jubilee Reception**

House of Commons Summer Terrace

Many MPs amongst guests

6.30pm. Details from 020-7793 4228

Tuesday 11th July

**Politeia Roundtable Debate**

Contribution and Insurance Series

2 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1

6.00pm. Details from 020-7240 5070

Wednesday 12th July

**Bruges Group Speaker Meeting**

Westbury Hotel, London W1

Owen Paterson MP & Professor David Myddleton

6.30pm. Details from 020-7287 4414

Sunday 16th July

**FOREST Booze and Cruise Boat Party**

Thames Boat Party on The Elizabethan

Drink, music and baccy.

6.30pm. Details from 020-7233 6144

Tuesday 18th July

**SIF SUMMER SPEAKER MEETING**

Peter Hitchens - journalist & author

Statesman Room, The Clarence

53 Whitehal, London SW1P

6.30pm. Details from 020-7371 7530

Send details of events to: [MBall@btinternet.com](mailto:MBall@btinternet.com) or telephone 020-8677 0984.